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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

- Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.
- Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.
- Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.
- Opposition to Trusts.
- Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

FROM all accounts it appears that General Merritt's report to the American Peace Commissioners in Paris upon the Philippine islands and people is of such a nature as must dispose our commissioners to insist upon the surrender of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines rather than otherwise. General Merritt's report upon the Filipinos is evidently most favorable, even flattering to those people. Of course we know not what he may have said or suggested to our Peace Commission, but from

newspaper interviews we do learn that the people of the islands and the islands themselves made a most favorable impression upon him. The traits of the people he paints in brighter colors than have the correspondents of some American newspapers who very recently did much to belittle the Filipinos in the eyes of the American public, declaring them to be a people knowing no gratitude, intractable, treacherous, quite unworthy of our protection. So have they been painted in most unattractive colors and we have been assured that it was a throwing away of sympathy to extend it to them. And forming opinion of the Filipinos from such reports, a strong disposition arose about the time of the signing of the peace protocol to draw out of the islands and leave the people to their fate. For a people such as painted, ungrateful, treacherous, a burden to their protectors it was felt it would be poorly worth while to prolong the war and spend American blood to gain liberty and freedom from oppression for such a people. The American people were led to believe that the Filipinos were quite incapable of self-government save on the barbaric plane and would be most difficult to rule, that the uplifting of such a people would be a thankless task, that if we would consider our own ease and welfare and happiness, we would assume no responsibilities in the Philippines, either as protectors of an independent government in which the law of might rather than right would be inclined to hold sway or as rulers over the islands.

But from these dismal warnings and forbodings a reaction has set in. General Merritt brings the welcome report that the people of the Philippines are not intractable but most tractable, that they are grateful, generous, quite capable of progress, that efforts spent in endeavoring to uplift them would bear rich fruits. That the task of upbuilding a Republican form of government in the islands would not be at all a hopeless one he asserts, that as a people they could easily be ruled if one would rule kindly and not oppressively and with a rod of iron he is sure. And so his report must incline our commissioners to demand the cession of the Philippines, for it sets forth that whether we take them to establish a Philippine republic under our protection or take them to rule, the taking will be successful from our own standpoint, that if we take them to rule we will succeed with no great difficulty, that if we take them to establish a Philippine republic we surely can accomplish such establishment in a satisfactory manner and with considerable ease.

OF THE capability of the Filipinos for self government General Merritt is reported as saying that "they more capable of self-government than I think the Cubans are, but that is not saying that the Filipinos are capable of appreciating all the privileges of a republican form of government yet; but I think they could be educated up to it." Admiral Dewey made much the same kind of report a few months ago. That they should be capable of at present appreciating the privileges of republican government is not to be expected. They can only learn to appreciate those privileges with experience. There is no other school

for the attainment of such appreciation. It cannot be drummed in by books and pedagogues, it must be felt.

PENDING the arrival of General Merritt in Paris from the Philippines and with eagerly sought information the American Peace Commissioners were in no hurry to proceed. Upon the nature of his report depended in great measure the scope of the demands in relation to the Philippines that the commission should make. It appears that some, at least, of the commissioners waited to hear from General Merritt before forming positive views as to the attitude we should assume towards Spain in relation to the Philippines, whether we should demand the surrender of only coaling stations or of all the islands. And the nature of General Merritt's report has disposed them to ask for the surrender of all the islands by Spain. Indeed, it seems that such demand has already been presented in a veiled form to the Spanish Commissioners at which they expressed much surprise and asked for an adjournment of the meetings of the commission, duly granted, that they might refer such demand to Madrid for instructions.

The instructions of President McKinley to our commissioners seem to allow them considerable latitude of action and as we have said the report of General Merritt has had considerable to do, to all appearances, with the shaping of that action. Indeed, some of our commissioners, if not all, postponed the final shaping of their views until they could hear from General Merritt. And, of course, they did not want to lay their views before the Spanish Commission until they had been given their final shaping. So pending the arrival in Paris of General Merritt our Peace Commissioners, we repeat, were in no mind to hurry the proceedings. And as it is not a Spanish trait to hurry the meetings of the commission were at first short and showed no great results. But with the arrival of General Merritt in Paris, the American Commissioners diplomatically uncovered their views and their purpose to insist upon Spanish evacuation of the Philippines even as of Cuba and Puerto Rico. And then the Spanish Commissioners, feigning to be startled at the enormity of the demand and hinting that their instructions gave them no power to entertain such demand, asked an adjournment of the commission meetings from Monday to Friday of this week that they might refer the demands to Madrid for instructions. And meanwhile the commission is being overwhelmed by the attentions of the French Government and in a whirl of diplomatic dinners until it would seem to the casual observer that the commission was in Paris to be feted and wine rather than to negotiate peace.

IT APPEARS that the Spanish commissioners are prepared to advance the claim that the peace protocol gave assurance to Spain that the United States would make no demand for the surrender of the Philippines, that the only cession of territory demanded of Spain in the Philippines would be such as might be desired for the establishment of coaling stations. And so it is that they assumed an attitude of great surprise when the demand for the cession of all the Philippines was presented in diplomatic words by the American commission. By some casuistry of reasoning that we do not pretend to fathom the Spanish place the above interpretation upon the peace protocol. And when refusing to accept such interpretation, indeed failing to see how such interpretation can be put upon the peace protocol, our commissioners demand the cession of the Philippines the Spanish take on an injured and surprised air as if we had broken the protocol, were not keeping good faith, and assertions are current in Madrid that rather than comply with such demands the Spanish Government will renew hostilities.

But such assertions must be regarded as blusterings more than anything else for Spain, without money, without a fleet, has nothing with which to renew hostilities. She is now absolutely

powerless to maintain any sovereignty over the Philippines save by our consent. The only considerable body of Spanish troops in the islands surrendered as prisoners of war the day after the signing of the protocol. And new troops Spain cannot send to the Philippines if we seek to prevent, and therefore, if left to the arbitrament of war, she cannot hold, but must lose her sovereignty over the Philippines; inevitably lose just that which she is now asked to cede by the American commission. So we cannot believe that Spain will resume hostilities. Probably nothing is further from the thought of the Spanish Government. The blustering threats of a resumption of hostilities are only to be regarded as diplomatic by-plays.

WHEN General Merritt was appointed last May to the command of our armies in the Philippines he did not hold our volunteer regiments, recruited from the National Guard of the different states, in very high esteem. Indeed so distrustful was he of the volunteers, so little regard did he have for their ability as soldiers, so little confidence did he place in them that when he found the troops destined for the Philippines were largely made up of volunteer regiments he stepped outside of the bounds of military discipline to make public protest against the sending of an expeditionary force to the Philippines composed of such troops. He demanded that at least enough regulars should be sent along to stiffen up the volunteers by their example, threatened to resign the command unless at least five thousand regulars were placed under his command. As a result the number of regulars allotted to duty in the Philippines was somewhat increased but not to the extent asked by General Merritt, who however took the command and proceeded to the Philippines.

And then he tells us a revelation as to the character of the volunteers and their ability as soldiers came to him. "A better lot of soldiers," he declares, "I have never seen in my life. They were all practically volunteers. Even the regulars were new; they had had more experience with their officers, but they were no more efficient than the volunteer corps. We had a splendid lot of men there, representing the various professions in the United States. We had soldiers from Colorado, Minnesota and also Pennsylvania. The latter was an excellent regiment, and all the way through they were as good a lot of soldiers as I should care to command, and I have been enlightened in regard to the efficiency of the volunteer service from what I have seen of my men in the Philippines."

THIS report upon the efficiency of the volunteers which General Merritt took with him from the Philippines to Paris is as welcome as his report upon the Filipinos. It will do good service in combatting those who demand the creation of a large standing army for national defence, who point to a standing army as a source of national strength, quite overlooking the fearful economic loss, loss in productive power, in the creation and accumulation of wealth that the maintenance of such an army must cause, loss that must cause greater weakness to a country situated as the United States than the absence of a standing army. In a word, the United States is stronger in war because of the absence of a standing army in peace than it would be if it kept up a standing army, and always had ready for action an organized fighting machine. Of course the possession of such machine would give the country an advantage at the outbreak of war, but the drain upon the resources and wealth producing power of the country in years of peace and to keep ready that fighting machine would come to more than the advantage of having that fighting machine ready would be worth. Better have the wealth that would be lost in keeping up a standing army than such standing army. The absence of that wealth would be a greater source of weakness at the outbreak of war than the absence of a standing army.

SEVERAL of the regiments in Puerto Rico have been ordered north and their places filled with fresh regiments. The soldiers of the regiments ordered out of Puerto Rico are so debilitated by their comparatively short stay in that tropical island as to quite destroy the effectiveness of the regiments. That these soldiers may recuperate and the effectiveness of their regiments be restored they have been ordered north. Of course when conditions are so settled that troops sent to Puerto Rico for garrison duty may disembark from the troopships to find airy barracks awaiting them, where they may take up their abode and observe with no inconvenience all the rules of hygiene they will not fall a prey to epidemics of typhoid fever or become so quickly inoculated and debilitated with climatic fevers. But that they will entirely escape such climatic fevers in not to be expected. Putting white regiments in tropical climates we can only hope to keep up their effectiveness by organizing a constant system of reliefs whereby soldiers of such regiments may be periodically relieved of service under the tropical sun and sent to do service in cooler and less debilitating climes.

This England has found out, and England has more troops beyond seas and in tropical countries than any other country on the globe. She has something under 100,000 men occupied in such service and to keep the garrisons up in effectiveness she finds it necessary to keep from six to seven thousand soldiers on the sea at all times, some being sent to the tropics as reliefs, some being returned to do garrison duty in temperate climes where they may recuperate.

And, embarking upon a policy that will necessitate the keeping of troops in the tropics, we too, if we would avoid great death rate and preserve the health of the troops and effectiveness of the garrisons, must organize a system of reliefs. There is no help for it, unless, indeed, we employ in this service solely negro soldiers who can stand continuous service in tropical climes without injury to health.

THE New York *Sun*, or rather, just one writer in its columns, "Matthew Marshall," has a good deal of sense. He does not believe in bank currency, and he calls those who do bank currency fanatics just as he calls those who believe in free silver coinage silver lunatics. From this impartial bandying of epithets we take it that anyone who don't agree with you is a lunatic, which, when we come to think of it, is about as good a definition of the word as can be given. If it is not, the word is one much misused, abused.

With a recent suggestion of this *Sun* writer we can quite agree, and so we presume we can pass with him both as wise man and as lunatic. However, the suggestion we mention is one deserving of being pushed, pushed hard, and a little harder than the *Sun* man would like to push it. Under the sub-treasury system the revenues collected by the government are turned into the sub-treasuries and there piled up as actual cash until the occasion arises for the disbursement of such revenues to meet the expenditures of the government. If the revenues exceed the expenditures it follows that money will be taken out of circulation and piled up in the sub-treasuries; if the expenditures exceed the revenues we will have just the reverse of this, unless the receipts of the government are swollen by payments for bonds as recently and as during Mr. Cleveland's second administration, when we may have a withdrawal of money from circulation and a piling up in the sub-treasuries even though expenditures exceed receipts. Indeed, we have recently experienced just this, and we also experienced it to our great sorrow during the period of Mr. Cleveland's bond sales.

But all such great changes aside, the ordinary expenditures of the government are very much larger in some months than others, while often the receipts will vary greatly from month to month. Thus in one month receipts will exceed expenditures and in another expenditures receipts, with the result that first there

will come a locking up of money in the sub-treasuries and then disbursement, thus causing petty fluctuations and disturbances of the money markets. Such are the evils of our sub-treasury system. It leads to changes in the volume of money in circulation and so of the value of money. This evil should be remedied, it can be remedied, and our friend of the *Sun* suggests the remedy.

Now Britain in the raising and spending of her tax moneys was beset with much the same evils that we are, but these evils she has met and surmounted. The payments out of the British Exchequer were and are especially heavy at certain periods of the year while the revenues ran along much the same. And revenues about balancing expenditures it followed that in those months of light expenditures there was a surplus in revenues and in the months of heavy expenditures, a deficit. So it was that to meet the heavy expenditures at one period of the year the accumulation of surplus revenues would commence months in advance. And this accumulation and corresponding reduction of money in circulation went on right up to the period of heavy expenditures when such accumulations would be paid out.

Thus the raising and disbursing of the taxes caused currency contraction and currency expansion alternately, thus making money scarce and plenty by turns, to the serious detriment of trade and industry. But no longer does Britain raise her revenue in a way to disturb her currency. Instead of piling up currency to meet an excess of expenditures over receipts to be anticipated in some months, she sells what are known as Exchequer Bills to an amount sufficient to raise the money needed and redeems such bills in those months when revenues exceed expenditures. Thus are temporary deficits provided for, thus is the temporary accumulation of a surplus provided against, thus does Britain raise her taxes and make her payments without disturbing the money markets, for in advance of collecting the taxes she provides the means of payment in the shape of Exchequer Bills.

IN THIS respect we can profit by Britain's example. With a Secretary of the Treasury alive to his opportunities and the needs of the country we would be already profiting, for in passing the war revenue bill Congress gave to the Secretary of the Treasury the power to do just what the British Chancellor of the Exchequer does. The certificates of indebtedness authorized by the war act and which give the Secretary of the Treasury the power to anticipate the revenues to the extent of \$100,000,000, correspond exactly with the Exchequer bills issued in England. By the use of such Certificates of Indebtedness we could collect our revenues in such a way as to keep the cash balance in the Treasury at practically the same amount, a working balance, at all times, and so as to prevent the withdrawal of money from circulation and the accumulation of a surplus to the great detriment of honest industry, for such hoarding of money tends to make money dear and prices lower and so undermine the profits of industry.

THE war revenue bill authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue \$400,000,000 of three per cent. coin bonds at his discretion, but with the proviso that the proceeds be used only for the purpose of meeting war expenditures. It further authorized him "to borrow from time to time, at a rate of interest not exceeding three per cent., such sum or sums as in his judgment may be necessary to meet public expenditures, and to issue therefor certificates of indebtedness in such form as he may prescribe, and in denominations of fifty dollars or some multiple of that sum, and each certificate so issued shall be payable, with the interest accrued thereon, at such time, not exceeding one year from the date of its issue, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, *Provided*, that the amount of certificates outstanding shall at no time exceed one hundred millions of dollars."

Here is a continuing power to anticipate the revenues to the extent of \$100,000,000, and a power not circumscribed by any

proviso that sums so raised should be used only to meet war expenditures. Such certificates of indebtedness can be issued during peace as in war. But in his wisdom Mr. Gage did not use this power to raise money to meet the Spanish war expenditures. On the contrary he issued \$200,000,000 of bonds and as a result has contracted the currency and created an entirely uncalled for surplus to the bane of industry. But the question is now not how Mr. Gage got into this mess but how we may get out and keep out. The only way open to get out—and that is hardly open without Congressional action, for the act under which Mr. Gage borrowed \$200,000,000 and has taken \$100,000,000 out of circulation, requires that the money so borrowed be used only to meet war expenditures—is to take the \$100,000,000 withdrawn from the channels of industry and buy up government bonds of any issue, thereby reducing the interest bearing debt and putting such money back into circulation. This is the simplest way out of the mess. Then to keep out use must be made of the certificates of indebtedness authorized by the war act just as the British Government makes use of Exchequer Bills. First, \$50,000,000 of such certificates might be at once issued and the proceeds used to redeem bonds. This would take new legislation, but such certificates would have to be outstanding to give the Secretary of the Treasury control of the situation, enable him to prevent the piling up of currency in the Treasury. The other \$50,000,000 could be reserved to meet deficits. Then "whenever the government needed more money than its current revenues supplied," we quote from the *Sun*, "it could issue certificates from week to week to the amount of the deficit. The money so procured would be disbursed almost immediately in payment of the government's obligations, thus returning to its original lenders, who would for the most part be banks and other financial institutions." And on the other hand whenever the receipts of the government exceeded its expenditures the accumulation of a surplus and the withdrawal of money from circulation could be prevented by redeeming these certificates of indebtedness with the surplus revenues. Then would the Treasury operations cease to disturb trade by taking money out of circulation at one time and pouring it back at another, thus causing fluctuations in the volume and value of the money in circulation. Of course revenues would have to be so adjusted as to about equal expenditures.

WE don't want our readers to think that we are wrapped up in the writings of the *Sun* man who defends the gold standard and monopoly with a deal of sober sense but how true is this presentation of conditions that beset us?

"The affairs of a nation are conducted not by the mass, but by a comparatively small number out of the mass, who dictate to the rest what they shall do. In this country, for example, every voter has, theoretically, the right to vote for whomsoever he pleases to govern him, but, in practice, he must vote for one out of two or three sets of candidates, or not at all. Men ambitious of power and distinction do not address, in the first place, the people at large. They seek to get into one of the inside organizations which can recommend them to the people, and make their election possible. It is true that their character and abilities, after they are thus recommended, are canvassed, and their allies praise them and defend them to the utmost of their power, but, except in small rural communities, and, even there, only in elections for local offices, they succeed or fail with the success and failure of their party."

Sometimes men write a strong plea for a great reform, the initiative and referendum, and don't know it.

MASSACHUSETTS stands forth as one state in the East where the Democratic party is a silver party. Under the leadership of George Fred Williams, who was elected a delegate to the Chicago

convention as a gold man, but who saw the error of his way a few weeks before the meeting of that convention and took a prominent part in its proceedings as a silver man, the Democracy of Massachusetts has stood firmly by the principles enunciated in the Chicago platform. That it so stands the Democratic State Convention held this week explicitly declared. But though the Massachusetts Democracy stands firm for silver it stands no show of success. It is only when the Democratic party stands for gold that it has any show of success in the East.

In New York those silver Democrats who, disgusted with the action of the State Democratic Convention in ignoring the Chicago platform and shelving the silver question, organized a bolt and sought to create a new party are having a sorry time of it. After very considerable wrangling for a very small party they nominated a state ticket, drafting Henry George, Jr., as their candidate for Governor. But Mr. George has refused to be drafted, declaring that he could better apply his time and efforts than in building up a silver Democratic party. Besides he announced his disapproval of the platform of this party. After presenting reasons of a personal nature for declining the nomination tendered him, he continued: "I should say, moreover, in justice to myself and to those who honestly advance the silver question to the rank of first importance, that I am, no more than my father was an advocate of free coinage. He condemned its economic soundness, being, in fact, a believer neither in gold nor silver, but in credit or paper money. He supported the Chicago platform not on account of, but in spite of its advocacy of free silver."

And Mr. George is not the only one who has declined a nomination tendered by the silver Democracy of New York. The party seems destined to cut an insignificant figure.

FOR months Chili and Argentine have been preparing for war; for months has the answer to the question of peace or war seemingly hung by a thread. And so it continues to hang though Chili has bankrupted herself in war preparations, though Argentine is anxious to disarm. Indeed, both are anxious to disarm. But Chili refuses to disarm until the boundary question in dispute is settled or put on the road to settlement; Argentine, on the other hand, is ready to disarm and leave the disputed question open, in fact wants to disarm and leave it open. This seems like a peculiar position, but there is reason behind it. Argentine has vast room for growth, Chili, bound in by the towering Andes, has not. And the reasonable hope, expectation of the Argentinians is that they will grow in population and power during the next few years much more rapidly than Chili. So Argentinians want to delay settlement, believing that if they can put off the settlement long enough they will grow so strong as to be able to dictate the settlement. Naturally Chilians cannot bear delay with patience. If war is to come it is to their interest that it come now while there is no great disparity between the resources of the two countries.

THE question in dispute, one of boundary, is of long standing. The Chilians have urged settlement, urged arbitration, the Argentinians have fought it off, fought settlement by arbitration even while professing to submit the question to arbitration. And a curious feature of the dispute is that an agreement was drawn up and signed several years ago to submit the question to the arbitration of Her British Majesty's Government. Both nations agreed to arbitration, and the basis of arbitration, in their mother tongue. But when it came to translating that agreement into English they could not agree as to the proper rendering into English of the essential clause. The Chilean interpretation and translation of this clause was that the boundary line should be "the high crests which divide the waters" in other words the watershed; the Argentinian translation of the clause was that the division should be "the high summits which divide the waters."

And in this different interpretation lies the whole crux of the situation. If the boundary line be drawn along the water shed, all the valleys opening towards the Pacific are Chilian, if the boundary line be drawn from high summit to high summit it would intersect many of these fertile valleys and place valuable lands claimed by Chili, and occupied by Chilians, within Argentinian borders.

There is a striking similarity between this dispute and that between ourselves and England over the Alaskan boundary. This boundary, recognized by treaty, is a line running parallel to the coast ten leagues back. The English hold that the coast line from which to measure should be drawn from headland to headland; we have always held that the coast line is the shore lapped by the waves and waters of the Pacific Ocean. Our position is much that of Chili, England's much that of Argentine; yet there is not an Englishman who does not hold the Chilian contention to rest on natural right and common sense. Curious it is how self-interest can twist one's ideas of natural right and common sense.

THE BREAKING OF THE CLOUDS.

GREAT movements for the liberation and uplifting of mankind have small beginnings. And those who are in at the beginning are ridiculed, villified, spat upon. They may live long enough to live down the villification and be honored in life, they may not live until the movements in which they embark are acknowledged as great as the truths and rights for which they contend and be honored only in death, their works and sacrifices as planters of the seed of reform and liberation and progress, works unheralded at the time, may be forgotten by those who garner the fruits, hidden by the obscurity of time, and these pathfinders to whom mankind owes much be honored on this earth neither in life nor in death. But great movements demand their martyrs, both known and unknown, martyrs who go to their martyrdom upheld, strengthened by the halo of publicity, martyrs who suffer in obscurity. It has ever been so. It is only through sacrifice that the uplifting of mankind is attained, but in that uplifting and alleviation of the sufferings of mankind such sacrifice has its reward.

As a means to the advancement of great movements parties are organized and those parties have small beginnings. They grow to greatness upon the sacrifices of their founders and followers. If such sacrifices are not made a new party dies aborning however worthy its purpose, if those sacrifices are not continued it will not grow. But if the cause is worthy and the party is worthy such sacrifices will not be lacking unless, indeed, the people for whose benefit such party is launched is so mammon worshipful, so devoid of Christian traits, as to be unworthy of uplifting. Even amidst such a people parties will flourish sustained by those who will make sacrifices not with the view of serving and uplifting their fellow men but with the expectation of securing self advancement and power and so reimbursing themselves and more for such sacrifices. In short, we will have parties built upon spoils, but such parties will not promote the advancement of the human race. Rather will they hinder as parasites.

But a party whose aim is the liberation of a people from oppression cannot grow upon spoils. It must grow upon sacrifices made with no selfish end, sacrifices made not to promote self enrichment but general happiness, not made solely with a view to bettering the lot of self but bettering the lot of all. It must be so for such party must have small beginnings with no spoils to offer. And he who works for party for spoils, as a means to the attainment of spoils not as a means to the uplifting of mankind will not leave an old party with spoils to give for a new party that has none to offer. So it is that a new party aim-

ing at the uplifting of mankind demands its martyrs, for those who join it at the beginning, join it only to be ridiculed, abused, villified. As it grows it will be joined by those who see the opportunity to use it for their own self advancement. If they so succeed in using it they will destroy it.

We find all this exemplified in the history of the Peoples party. Those who gave it birth aimed at the liberation of our people from the oppression of the moneyed and railroad cliques. Upon their sacrifices, sacrifices that meant not self-advancement but too often self-effacement, the party grew. It found no support from the spoils men of the old parties. They ridiculed, villified, abused those who, sustained by the most exalted and purest of motives, were making great sacrifices to build up a party that would enable the people to defend themselves against the aggressions of the moneyed oligarchy and preserve the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity. But in spite of abuse, in spite of ridicule, the party grew, for it expounded a worthy cause, and of that cause it showed itself worthy. But as it grew some saw a short cut to self-advancement, and the advancement of some small moiety of the principles of Populism, by seducing the party into alliance with one or the other of the old parties happening to be in the minority in different states, an alliance upon the basis of distributing the spoils of office. And so for spoils was the great end for which the party was organized, the great cause which gave it birth, sacrificed. Thus showing itself unworthy, it ceased to be sustained by those ready to make great sacrifices for the cause of human liberty so dear to them, but not for the advancement to office of any man or men.

And so the party ceased to grow, for the sacrifices of the great body of true men who had sustained it ceased to be made. Consequently, the party fell into a sorry plight. It was well nigh destroyed, for those who strove to use it as a means to attain offices rather than as a means to promote a great cause were successful to a large degree. So the party disintegrated. It became a question of pulling the party away from the path of fusion, or of death.

To pull it away and put it in a position that would invite the support of those who had withdrawn support when the party showed itself unworthy of support by abandoning principle, at the behest of those seeking place, became the duty of the National Organization Committee that grew out of the Nashville conference of July 4, 1897, a conference of those protesting against further pursuit of the fusion policy. This committee worked earnestly to re-establish the Peoples party upon a firm footing, and at meetings held in St. Louis, in November, 1897, and again in January, 1898, it accomplished much. Indeed, it laid down direct lines for the rebuilding of the Peoples party. Yet when it met in Omaha in June last, in conjunction with the National Committee, it was sadly perplexed. The National Committee passed a resolution to the effect that the National Chairman should not thereafter entertain fusion propositions, a resolution accepted by Chairman Butler, but the spirit of which he has not kept. But the story of the Omaha meetings of June last and of the so-called Omaha compact is not one that it is necessary to rehash. Suffice it to say that by some members of the Organization Committee that resolution was accepted as satisfactory, that it cast others into grave doubt as to what their course should be and led them to hold back from taking any action, but that others, clear in their own minds as to the proper course to take to save the Peoples party, resolved on taking it confident that others would come to see the right as it had been given them to see the right, proceeded to take that action and issued an address to the Populists of the United States calling the Cincinnati convention.

"For two years" ran that address, "the Peoples party has been tied hand and foot by the course of those in official positions who have sought to use that party for their self-preferment and incidentally the strengthening of the Democratic party. Instead of gathering strength as it should and as it would as the recog-

nized party of true democracy it has repelled recruits. Men have been repelled from joining the Peoples party for they could feel no assurance that it would live as a party of the people, a party living to promote their welfare or as a party of office seekers as the Democratic and Republican parties; because they knew not whether the Peoples party was to continue to live or be absorbed into the Democratic."

Thus was the fusion poison that was destroying the Peoples party pointed out; by casting out that poison the Peoples party could alone be saved. So saw the Populists who issued this address and they firmly resolved that the true Populists of the United States should be given the opportunity to cast out this poison and so save their party. Therefore they called the Cincinnati convention concluding the call in words that have not tarnished with age, that are as timely to-day as when penned and consequently will bear repetition now.

"As believers in democracy, as lovers of our Republic," concluded the signers of the address, "we cannot follow Mr. Butler into the Democratic party and to the support of the moneyed oligarchy. As Populists we repudiate him and his acts, we hang forth the banners of populism that untainted all good Populists may gather around again, all believers in democracy rally round, banners on which shall be emblazoned the platform of true democracy, 'equality of opportunity to all, special privileges for none,' and our motto, 'We shall carry principles into office with our candidates or we care not to carry in the men.'"

"Therefore, firm in our belief that the vast majority of mankind have honest hearts and pure intentions, that their desire is to do justice to their fellow-men, to live by the rule of right not of might, to profit from the fruits of their own toil, not by despoiling their neighbors, we reaffirm our undying belief that a democratic government must of its very nature be inherently just, that a true democracy must be the best of governments, that where the people rule they will be best ruled. That our people be given the opportunity to so live, be permitted to live by the rules of equity and justice, to live up to the precepts of Christ, to show that the promised kingdom of the future, where love and justice rule, may be exemplified on earth we demand. That the cardinal tenet upon which all true democracy must rest and upon which was founded our republic shall be observed, that there shall be ensured to all men an equality of opportunity we insist. If that great truth enunciated in our Declaration of Independence is not recognized as the guiding star of our acts, the great Republic which we honor and love, with whose destiny are bound up our hopes, our fears, will pass under the sway of the growing moneyed oligarchy now grasping wealth by despoiling the many, enacting legislation and permitting evils to exist that condemn the producing classes to one long struggle for existence while the surplus fruits of their labor, those fruits that should go to lighten the lot of the many and open the way to a higher civilization are taken to enrich the few.

"Where the many are slaves to poverty a republic cannot exist, where the many reap no benefit though they add to the productiveness of their labor, but such increased productiveness is stripped from them for the enrichment of the few, civilization cannot advance, it must retrograde. The people of this country have now to baffle the moneyed oligarchy that, by means of a dishonest monetary system and clique controlled and dishonestly managed transportation systems, is stripping the industrious of the fruits of their toil and so making of them slaves to poverty. This oligarchy must be fought, must be destroyed, or it will destroy the Republic. Oligarchy and Democracy cannot live together. The one or the other must perish. The issue is drawn and there can be no compromise.

"Therefore reaffirming our undying belief in a true democracy as the best of governments, proclaiming the self-evident truth that money was made to serve man, not man to serve money, that man is or of right ought to be master, money the servant, not money the master and man the slave; standing on the undeniable proposition that the railroads were granted public franchises that they might serve, not that they might despoil the people; affirming our conviction that these self-evident truths and the denials of them by the two old parties should be set forth, that the American people, honest of heart, just of purpose, loving their country and their fellow-men may have the opportunity to command the recognition of such truths, and pursuant to the command of the rank and file of the Peoples party, from whom we derive all power, whose will to us is law,

we hereby call the National Nominating Convention of the Peoples party to meet in Cincinnati, Monday, September 5, 1898, and call upon the Populists of such states and territories as have not already elected delegates to such convention to select delegates upon the following basis of representation:

"For each state and territory and the District of Columbia, two delegates-at-large.

"For every 2,000 Populist votes cast at any election since 1890, one delegate additional thereto."

Pursuant to such call the Cincinnati convention met, somewhat meagre in numbers but strong in determination, with dark and lowering clouds surrounding the Peoples party and threatening its very existence. To the dissipation of those clouds the convention applied itself. That it was called to do, that was its duty. Ridiculed, misrepresented, abused, the members of the convention held their course. They felt that there was but one way to save the Peoples party and that was to hold it upon an independent track, to never sacrifice principle for success, success for the leaders but not for the rank and file to whom party triumph can bring no benefits unless such triumph means the acceptance of the principles of Populism in government. And if such principles are sacrificed to attain success, of what avail is party triumph? Clearly none at all and for a party so purchasing success the rank and file can not be expected to make sacrifices.

This has been the matter with the Peoples party. The enthusiasm of the rank and file has been chilled; they have refused to make sacrifices to sustain a party the success of which through fusion deals meant much for leaders but nothing for them.

So felt the members of the Cincinnati convention. Without sacrifices upon the part of true Populists the Peoples party could not be built up. Without the party was made worthy of such sacrifices, such sacrifices could not fairly be asked and would not be made. This was the situation. The need of the hour was to put the party on a straight course, to keep it true to principle so that its triumph would mean the restoration of an equality of opportunity to all our people and insure to all men the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor free from the exactions of the moneyed and railroad cliques, of trusts and monopolies—mean the uplifting of mankind, mean that the fruits of party victory would accrue not alone to self seeking leaders but to all men, that the workers in the trenches called upon to make sacrifices for their party would gather the advantages of victory and not see the fruits reaped by the self seeking few.

Such was the need of the hour. The convention rose to meet it, worked to give assurance that the Peoples party would be preserved as a party whose success would bring profit to the people and for whose success it would be worth the while of the people to make sacrifices. With this assurance given and the Peoples party being made worthy of support, it was felt that Populists would make sacrifices to sustain it and that as a consequence the Peoples party would grow.

In accordance with this feeling the convention acted. And so comes a breaking of the dark clouds surrounding the Peoples party. The threatening, lowering clouds of destruction lift, enthusiasm returns, men again stand ready to make sacrifices for the building up of the party, disintegration is checked, life returns, the rebuilding commences, the party grows, welcoming recruits whom before it repelled. But recognizing that with human weakness we might view the results of the Cincinnati convention in too roseate colors, or at least be so charged, we put not reliance in our own thoughts and words, but give way to Paul Dixon, the able editor of the *Missouri World*, who signed the Omaha call for the Cincinnati convention, but within the hour of signature withdrew his name from the call that he might further consider the advisability of such call before giving his approval. Mr. Dixon, dispassionately and justly, sums up the work of the convention and results in the following paragraphs that are

clipped from his paper of September 28th,—paragraphs that have our endorsement:

"The Peoples party has been in a terrible state and no one knew which way to go; all have earnestly considered what was best to do. Most of us after most careful study of the situation were in doubt what to do. Some of the editors met at Memphis in February, 1897, and advised a conference. A referendum vote was taken and the conference called. The conference was held at Nashville, July 4, 1897, and there a national organization committee was appointed to act if the national committee failed to act. That committee met in St. Louis, January, 1898, and ordered a referendum vote taken as to the date the national nominating convention should be held. The vote was light and in the main state—Texas, was not even counted. The national committee and the organization committee met at Omaha. The action taken there amounted to nothing. Nearly half of the national committee refused to vote on the resolutions adopted, not wishing to be bound thereby. But when the meeting was over it was found that the Texas boys had thrown up the sponge and capitulated for the time being to Butler. A small number of the organization committee was gotten together after the national committee had adjourned, and the call for the Cincinnati convention was ordered. Some of us who there signed the call, within a half hour afterward, requested our names to be withdrawn from it until we had time to give the matter some thought. It was just by the skin of the teeth that the Cincinnati convention was called even by the irregular organization committee.

"Could the condition of the party organization be more mixed or discouraging? But the Cincinnati call went forth on its glorious mission, glorious we can now, but could not then, see that it was. At Cincinnati, nominations were nearly defeated, but they were made (and by the way, probably as good as any party has made for many years).

"The convention was irregular?

"It was, but the rank and file can make it regular by endorsing it.

"The candidates are not your choice?

"You will have a chance to express your choice.

"But the convention called by the regular committee may nominate as good or better ticket of Populists on a straight Populist platform?

"Well and good. Barker and Donnelly will not stand in their way, but if the regular convention should go over to the Democrats then those who want to follow the convention into the Democratic party can do so but Populists will already have a ticket in the field—Barker and Donnelly or whoever may be substituted in their place.

"Isn't the position of the Peoples party clear now?

"Nationally it is as free from the Democratic party as though the '96 convention had never been held, and as though the fusionists had never existed.

"Will the Populists have a straight ticket in the field in 1900?

"The answer is they already have a straight ticket in the field, the ticket nominated at Cincinnati, and though the names on it may be changed, they will not be changed except for other straight Populists, and this ticket will remain in the field until the polls close in November.

"But the referendum vote may result in choosing Bryan?

"No one can be the nominee of the Peoples party for President unless he be a member of a Peoples party club. Messrs. Barker and Donnelly will not give way to others unless they be straight Populists. The atmosphere in the Peoples party which has been so cloudy and gloomy for two years is as bright as the brightest of Missouri autumn days (we have lovely autumn weather here in Missouri, no fairer anywhere in the world). This is the way we look at it. Read our correspondence columns and it will be seen that renewed life and hope has been created among the membership of the party."

At last, at last we can see the breaking of the clouds; a new light of hope dawns over the future of Populism.

AN angry man opens his mouth and shuts his eyes.—*Cato*.

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A FRIEND that you buy with presents will be bought from you.

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SERMONS shaped to fit the consciences of the biggest contributors will not cleanse the world of sin.

ISSUES OF THE FALL CAMPAIGN.

CONGRESSMAN HEPBURN, of Iowa, recently took occasion to assert that a defeat of the Republicans at the Congressional elections of this fall would be considered in Europe as a rejection by the American people of the policy of territorial expansion, and as a consequence much hinder the negotiation of peace by causing the Spanish peace commissioners to stiffen their claims for the retention of the Philippines in the hope that the new Congress would not sustain the Administration in demanding the surrender of the chief if not all of those islands. And doubtless Democratic success this fall would be so considered, though the question of expansion is not one that has been sharply drawn or made an issue between the two parties. Yet it is true that there has been a rough lining up of Democrats and Republicans on the question, the Republicans on the side of the Administration and the Democrats in opposition, and of late the Republicans of some states, notably New York, have sought to shove this question forward as an issue. But the Democrats have, in general, refused to pick it up, and as it takes two to make a quarrel the Republicans have not met with great success in this direction.

The efforts of Congressman Hepburn and others to make the question of territorial expansion prominent and make it appear that Democratic victory would hinder our peace commissioners in carrying their work to a successful conclusion, only go to show a general uneasiness on the part of Republicans as to the outcome of the campaign and evidence their belief that the policy of expansion is popular. The chariness of Democrats to take up this gauntlet thrown down by Republicans also goes to show that they too believe the policy of expansion meets with popular approval. Not wishing to buck their heads into the stone wall of defeat they avoid the issue.

The Democrats have sought to fight the campaign from a position of fault finding, a position admirably suited to a party of little constructive ability and of great variety of opinion as to what to do with power if entrusted with it; such great variety that the party is rent with discord and weakened by internal dissension when it departs from the track of tearing holes in the armor of its opponents to propose some definite policy of its own for the rectification of existing evils and abuses. And this year Republican mismanagement of national affairs, especially of the War Department, and flagrant corruption in state affairs has given the Democrats a splendid basis from which to conduct a campaign of fault finding, for there is much with which fault may justly be found. So it is that Republicans have been put upon the defensive, put to defending that which has no defense, defending or rather denying mismanagement and corruption that is too obvious to be denied with any show of truth. Consequently the Republicans are placed at great disadvantage in the campaign and they seek to change the issue, take the aggressive and put the Democrats on the defense. So the effort to bring the question of expansion to the fore.

Recalling the great majorities built up in the East in 1896, when the campaign turned on the question of free silver coinage, the Republicans of the East were much inclined to fight the campaigns of this year upon the same issue. But the Democrats would not have it so. The Republicans have, indeed, thrown down the gauntlet by declaring squarely for the gold standard and charging the Democrats with advocacy of the free-coinage policy. But the Democrats of the Eastern and Middle states, where the anti-silver majorities were so large in 1896, have refused to father the free-coinage policy, refused to reaffirm it, to pick the gauntlet up, and so the Republicans have not been able to make much of this issue. In some places they have even dragged the tariff in, but it has refused to do duty in attracting men's attention away from the abuses and corruption in Republican rule pointed to by the Democrats. And so has appeal been

made to the question of expansion. But again the Republicans are met with the difficulty of fastening opposition to the policy of expansion squarely upon the Democrats.

Thus we have the Republicans throwing down one gauntlet for the campaign and the Democrats another. And the gauntlet thrown down by the Republicans remains to all practical purposes unpicked up. But the Democrats, especially in the Eastern states, have had better luck. By continual pestering and charges of corruption and mismanagement they have driven the Republicans to take up the gauntlet thrown down.

In the Western states the financial question has indeed a greater place in the campaign, for the Democrats have not shelved it as they have in the East. In Oregon where the elections for Congress are held in June the campaign was fought on this issue almost to the exclusion of all else and resulted in signal Republican victory, a victory to which the Republicans were much helped by the refusal of five thousand Populists or thereabouts to continue to affiliate with the Democratic party, a party whose success they regard as promising no more relief from the aggressions of the moneyed oligarchy than the success of the Republican party. And as support of the Democratic party serves to destroy the Peoples party, the only party promising relief, they withdrew that support. And they will do it in other states to an extent that may be disastrous to the Democrats, destructive of their dreams of controlling the next Congress.

Still, the results of the election in Oregon cannot be accepted as presaging a Republican walkover throughout the West, for in the months since the Oregon elections have been unclosed the darker side of the war for which the Republican administration is held responsible. And what effect the exposure of mismanagement in the War Department will have upon the voters remains to be seen. So, too, is it impossible to judge in how far the Republicans may be able to draw attention from this mismanagement by raising the issue of expansion and the cry that in the present status of the peace negotiations it is unpatriotic to vote for other than the Republican candidates.

Altogether the complexion of the next House of Representatives is involved in great doubt. The Democrats are hopeful, the Republicans uneasy, all doubtful and much at sea. The Republicans have in the present House a clear majority of fifty-two or three and one or two gold Democrats to fall back upon when financial legislation is before the House. They can, therefore, lose twenty-five seats and still keep control of the House. That they will lose many seats in the East seems certain, that they will gain in the West probable. Whether or no their losses will so far exceed their gains as to wipe out the present majority we will venture no prediction. But if the Republicans do lose control of the House one thing is most probable, almost certain, and that is that gold Democrats will hold the balance of power.

That several gold Democrats will be elected to the next House is beyond question. Indeed it is probable that what gains the Democrats make in the East will go more largely to build up a gold wing of the Democracy in the House than to strengthen the silver wing. What is more, some districts now represented by silver Democrats seem destined to be represented by Democrats of the gold persuasion. Thus following the shelving of the silver question by the New York Democracy in state convention Tammany nominates several avowed gold men for Congress in sure Democratic districts in New York City. Thus will Philadelphia's gold Democratic representative in Congress, Mr. McAleer, be returned with Republican endorsement, and in Maryland, if the Democrats make any gains it will be almost certainly in the shape of gold men, for in five of the six districts avowed gold men have been nominated. And so it runs in the East. Besides there are many Democrats standing for election the country over whose position on the financial question is not announced and who may turn up in Congress if elected as supporters of the gold

policy. And the faster the gold wing of the party grows the more of such men there will be.

In the congressional elections so far held the Republicans have gained nothing, neither have they lost. In Oregon they did indeed carry the two congressional districts by greatly increased pluralities as compared to 1896, when the Republican candidates only carried the day by the narrowest of margins. And, on the other hand, in Maine, as in Vermont, the Republican pluralities were materially cut down, but not enough to give any one of the districts to the Democrats. So the congressional delegations from the three states of Oregon, Vermont and Maine, the states that have already held elections, will stand in the next congress as they do in the present.

As we have said, the Republicans, especially of the East, have endeavored to make the silver question the dominant issue of the campaign. But in the eastern states the Democrats have refused to accept the issue and the Republicans have been unable to drive them to accept it. In Pennsylvania, the Democrats, following the Republicans in holding their convention during the first part of the summer, shelved the silver question and resolved to fight the campaign on state issues. The Republicans resolved to fight the campaign on national issues, the silver question and the tariff, which the Democrats ignored. And on these lines Mr. Stone, Republican, or perhaps we had better say Quay, candidate for Governor, started his canvas. He talked of the prosperity under the Dingley tariff of which we read much in the newspapers but which the majority of our people have not found, in which they have not shared. So did he talk of the dangers of free silver coinage and hence of Democratic success. But the Democrats refused to take up the advocacy of free silver coinage, refused to discuss the tariff and set out to make the campaign by exposing the rotteness, the corruption of the Republican machine. Dr. Swallow, independent candidate, also based his campaign on charges of machine rotteness and finally the machine candidates were driven by the force of public opinion to take notice of such charges. Denying them the machine has been put on the defensive and so it remains.

The campaign in Pennsylvania against machine misrule was commenced several months before the holding of the Republican convention by Mr. Wanamaker, who sought the nomination for governor at the hands of that convention. He failed to capture that convention which sought to turn the attention of the people, but in vain, from Republican rotteness in state affairs, to national issues. Dr. Swallow was put forward to accomplish the overthrow of the Quay machine by bringing that rotteness home to the people and, as we have said, the Democrats at their convention resolved to make their fight against the Republicans in the same way.

And so without lagging, without deviation has the campaign been made upon these lines and the Republicans have been obliged to meet them as best they could. Attention has been called to the deposit of state funds in pet banks, for which deposits the banks have paid interest, not into the State Treasury, but for support of the machine and for the profit of its creatures. And these deposits have been piled up in large amounts by the withholding of school funds due the counties by the state. Thus have the schools been kept out of money due them that the machine might keep large balances in its pet banks for the profit of its creatures. What is more, it is not only from the receipt of interest upon such state moneys deposited with the banks that the machine has profited. That interest makes but a small part of the profit derived by the machine or rather the bosses of the machine and so of the commonwealth from the deposit of such funds. The state funds so deposited have, there is reason to believe, been loaned out by the banks to the great boss and lesser bosses of the machine to further the speculative operations of those gentry. And so have these state bosses indirectly put at

their own service and for the promotion of speculative operations the funds of the state from which risky operations they have of course taken all the profits, the state the risk. Such use of the state funds has been exposed and now to cap the climax comes the arrest of Senator Quay and others, charged with such disposal and use of state funds for his personal profit. Whether such charges can be legally proven remains to be seen.

Upon the exposure of such rottenness and of the petty padding of pay rolls and bills with a view of robbing the state and enriching the Harrisburg ring, the corrupt servants of the people, the campaign in Pennsylvania is being fought. State issues have quite overtopped national issues, the silver question has been shelved and plays little part even in Congressional elections. The Democrats in nominating candidates for Congress seem to be influenced not by a desire to pick out men for the principles they hold but solely by a desire to select the men who will run the best. This indifference to principle is strikingly evinced by the course of the Democrats in the Sixth District. They nominated as their first choice ex-Governor Robt. E. Pattison, a rank gold man, and as their second choice an outspoken silver man, Mr. Berry. And this they did all in the same day and before they knew whether Mr. Pattison would run or not, simply declaring that if the gold man, whom they believed would run best, declined, the man whom they believed would run next best, and who happens to be a silver man, should be their candidate. And Mr. Pattison declining, the nomination goes to the silver man. A fine recognition of principle is this, a holding of party triumph dearer than principle or is it indeed that the Democrats of the Sixth district are, in their ignorance, quite indifferent as to whether the policy of free silver coinage or of gold monometallism prevails?

And when we cross to New York what do we find? An even more complete shelving of the silver question than in Pennsylvania by the democracy, an effort by the Republicans to keep it open and to push the question of territorial expansion to the fore. But the New York democracy refuses to stand forth as the advocate of free silver coinage, it resolves to make the campaign one of fault-finding with the Republican management of affairs in both State and Nation, putting the mismanagement in State and the glaring scandals connected with the improvement of the state's canals first. Whether the Democrats of New York will be successful in forcing the Republicans to take up the gauntlet thrown down to them and fight the campaign on issues of Democratic choosing remains to be seen. But it would seem that the Republicans in New York, as in Pennsylvania, will be driven to meet the charges brought against them. To treat them in silence would seem to be impossible, and to defend the Republican management of state affairs is to take up the gage of battle thrown down by the democracy. So we may expect to see the Democrats put the Republicans upon the defensive and keep them there during the campaign.

The gold Democracy of New York, having scored a distinct triumph in preventing a reaffirmation of the Chicago platform, the gold wing of the party, the bolters of 1896, the men who rolled up such a tremendous majority for Mr. McKinley, may be expected to give loyal support to the ticket. And that support they promise to give. They feel that if the party does not build itself up in this campaign that its defeat will be attributed to its backsliding on silver and the Chicago platform, that the time servers will turn round to the support of free silver and as a consequence the silver Democrats regain control of the party organization in the state. On the other hand they feel that if the party does build itself up and achieve victory that their hold upon the organization will be made so strong that it cannot be shaken and the New York Democracy stand forth in 1900 as a gold party *par excellence*, a party working to take the National Democratic organization out of the hands of the silver men and make of the Democratic party a gold party as in 1892, a party that in the event

of failure to so capture the national organization can be depended upon to break up the Democratic lines, segregate the east from the west and make the triumph of the silver democracy impossible.

So the gold Democrats feel that the victory of the Democracy in New York this fall will seal the fate of the silver Democracy, make its triumph in 1900 impossible. And so feeling they will work for such success, work for it as a triumph for gold. So does the New York Times, spokesman for these Democrats more than any other paper, appeal to them. And that such appeal will be heartily responded to no one doubts.

Thus the Democratic party of New York regains what it lost in 1896. The question then is will it loose any material support that it had in 1896? If not, victory will be won. As the gold men come back in legions a few silver men leave, bolt the organization, are striving to put a silver Democratic ticket in the field. But that ticket awakens no enthusiasm; it seems destined to attract but few votes. In brief, the gold Democracy has triumphed in New York and this triumph has been followed by no serious bolt. Unless the unexpected happens, unless there is a landslide the country over in favor of the Republicans the chances for the election of Judge Van Wyck as Governor of New York on the eighth of November next and over Colonel Roosevelt will be more than equal.

As the gold Democrats have had their triumph in Connecticut and New York so have they in New Jersey. Even while the New York Democratic State Convention was in session at Syracuse, the outspoken silver men in the New Jersey Democratic State Convention, assembled at Trenton, were being silenced. As the New York convention declared "steadfast fidelity to all the principles and policies of Jeffersonian Democracy," and made no reference to the Chicago platform, either to affirm or repudiate, though sitting down upon a delegate who sought to secure affirmation, so the New Jersey convention declared its adherence to Democratic issues, but refused to add the words "as enumerated in the Chicago platform of 1896."

Thus has the Democracy of the East abandoned the advocacy of free silver, abandoned the position it took in 1896 under national pressure, thus has the gold Democracy triumphed in the East. We are reminded that the Democracy of the East cannot direct the Democracy of the country, that the Democracy of the rest of the country is greater than the Democracy of the East, greater in votes, more powerful in convention and cannot be dictated to. And it is true. But so is it true that the silver Democracy cannot win a national victory without the support of the Democracy of the East. With the Democracy of the East in opposition the Democracy of the South and West is powerless as a national party. Without the electoral votes of such Democratic states as Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, the Democracy cannot elect a President unless it can carry such Republican states as Ohio and Illinois, Iowa and Michigan. And with an active gold Democratic organization in such states such as there would be sure to be with the gold Democracy in control in the Eastern states the silver Democracy cannot hope to carry such states. So the triumph of the gold Democracy over the silver Democracy of the East means a similar triumph over the silver Democracy of the country or the splitting off of the Democratic party of the East from the Democratic party of the West and South, a splitting in twain of the party as there was in 1860 between the Democracy of the South and North.

And why should we regret such triumph that renders the silver Democracy powerless, that gives assurance of the division of the forces of plutocracy? Far from regretting it we rejoice in it. We rejoice in the clipping of the wings of the silver Democracy for its triumph would set back the cause of true monetary reform for years, hold the people in dependence upon a metal money fluctuating in value with the accidents of production, scattering injustice and so retarding progress, perhaps for generations. We rejoice for its triumph would threaten us with "free

banking" and with the curse of an irredeemable bank currency fluctuating in volume and value at the whim of the speculative cliques, as perfect an instrument for the despoilment of mankind and the centralizing of wealth as the wit of man can devise. Above all we rejoice for the triumph of the gold wing over the silver wing of the party means two gold, two monopoly, two clique ridden parties bidding against one another for votes in 1900; means the division and so weakening of the forces of oligarchy, the forces with which the Peoples party is bound to contend; means the uniting of earnest reformers, finding no longer refuge with the Democratic party any more than the Republican, under the banners of Populism; means a weakening of the forces of oligarchy through divisions, a strengthening of the forces of the people through union, and so the opening of the way to success for the Peoples party and the breaking of those systems of injustice that deny an equality of opportunity to our people and breed suffering and distress in a country where there should be plenty, prosperity, happiness.

PEOPLES PARTY NOTES.

THE Populists of Montana met in State Convention at Anaconda on the twenty-first and second days of September. Of the Democratic convention, met in the same place and on the same days, they asked fusion and were denied; they offered to make common cause with the silver Republicans and fusion with the silver Republicans was effected only to be unexpectedly broken by the withdrawal of Congressman Hartman from the fusion ticket though he had previously accepted the joint nomination of the Populists and silver Republicans in a speech before the conventions.

The conventions of all three parties, Peoples, Democratic, silver Republican, met in Anaconda on September 21st. Immediately after organization was effected, conference committees were appointed to arrange a basis for fusion so that all parties might support common candidates and so supporting insure their election. But it was soon made evident that no basis of fusion could be arranged, the Democrats, feeling that they could carry the state alone, demanding more of the spoils of fusion than the other parties judged to be their share. As a *sine qua non* to fusion they demanded that all fusion candidates for the legislature should be pledged to vote for a Democrat for United States Senator. This would have retired Senator Mantle, silver Republican, to private life and perhaps led to the election of a gold Democrat and silver Republicans and Populists, though innoculated with fusion, would not agree. So there came a split, the Democrats proceeding to act independently while the silver Republicans and Populists flocked together and agreed to put up a fusion ticket. They agreed to fuse upon a basis of the silver Republicans naming the fusion nominees for Congress and Associate Justice, the Populists the nominees for Chief Justice and Clerk of the Supreme Court. Then they proceeded to the making of nominations. The silver Republicans at once named Hartman for Congress, made the nomination for Associate Justice and then from some mistake, or a disposition to hog every thing in sight, made a nomination for Chief Justice and adjourned. This left only one place on the ticket, Clerk of the Supreme Court, for the Populists to fill, which they did. Over the nomination for Chief Justice they wrangled for some time and then suddenly discovering that the silver Republicans had made a nomination for such office, and contrary to agreement, they referred the matter of such nomination to the State Central Committee with the charge that it confer with the silver Republican committee with a view to the adjustment of the question.

The Populists adopted resolutions declaring the question of free silver coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 to be the paramount issue before the American people, and approving the initiative and referendum "by means of which all other reforms can be readily acted upon." The convention further issued an address to the people of Montana declaring that "the Peoples party of Montana, being loyal to the cause of silver," and "having at all times heartily endorsed the plan of co-operation of the silver forces advocated by William Jennings Bryan and the great leaders of the silver cause," had, in state convention, "used all hon-

orable means compatible with its continued existence as a party, to secure an alliance of the silver parties of Montana," and further affirmed that "we," the Populists of Montana, in convention assembled, "pursued our endeavors to such a point that to go further would have involved the complete loss of our identity as a party. This we declined to do for the reason that there are other great reforms advocated by us not yet borrowed from us by the Democratic party, to-wit: The initiative and referendum, and the public ownership of the natural monopolies, and we deem it essential that we continue in separate existence until these reforms are accomplished."

As we have said, Mr. Hartman accepted the nomination of the silver Republican and Populist conventions for Congress, and evinced considerable asperity towards the Democrats. But within a few days, after weighing up the situation, he assumed "an holier than thou attitude," declared that he would sacrifice himself to promote the cause of free silver, to make sure the election of the Democratic congressional candidate, withdrew from the fusion ticket, and so leaves the Populists and silver Republicans, who put up the fusion ticket with his approval and with his name at the head of it, in the lurch.

ON Saturday, September 24th, pursuant to call of Mr. L. F. Fuller, chairman of the state committee, the Populists of New Jersey met in state convention at Camden for the purpose of placing in nomination a candidate for Governor and transacting such other business as should be deemed best for the interest of the party.

The convention was called to order by the state chairman, Mr. Fuller, who was chosen unanimously as temporary chairman of the convention. E. A. Wallace, of Essex county, was selected temporary secretary. Under suspension of the rules the referendum system of balloting was adopted and Enoch C. Merritt, of Beverly, Burlington county, was elected permanent chairman, Mr. Wallace being continued as permanent secretary. The convention then proceeded to nominate a candidate for Governor, and upon the third ballot Mr. Frederick Schrayeshuen, of Mount Holly, became the choice of the delegates.

The convention in its platform reaffirmed its allegiance to the Omaha declaration of principles, excluding all allusion to the free coinage of both gold and silver, demanded the adoption of Direct Legislation by the methods of the initiative and referendum, condemned the issue of government bonds and squarely placed itself on record as opposed to all fusion now and hereafter.

Having chosen a candidate for Governor and adopted a platform, the convention proceeded to revise the list of state officers of the Peoples party. L. F. Fuller was removed from the position of chairman of the State Committee, and J. V. L. Pierson from the position of secretary, and the following gentlemen were chosen to succeed them: Enoch C. Merritt, of Beverly, Burlington county, as chairman of the State Committee to serve two years, unless sooner removed by any regularly called state convention; Frank B. Richmond, of Camden, as secretary of the State Committee.

The present members of the National Committee, Messrs. Joseph R. Buchanan, John Wilcox and Eltweed Pomeroy, were, as fusionists, and out of accord with the People's party of New Jersey that had, in convention, just gone on record as opposed to all fusion now and hereafter, removed, and the following mid-road Populists elected in their place: Edward A. Wallace, of South Orange; Frank B. Richmond, of Camden, and Frank S. Newcomb, of Vineland. Thus has the Peoples party organization of New Jersey been swept clean of fusionists. The secretary of the state convention was directed to notify the secretary of the National Committee of the withdrawal of Buchanan, Wilcox and Pomeroy, and the substitution of Wallace, Richmond and Newcomb.

Gettysburg, Luray, Natural Bridge, Hot Springs, Richmond, and Washington.

The next and last eleven-day personally-conducted tour of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to the Battlefield of Gettysburg, Luray Caverns, Natural Bridge, Virginia Hot Springs, and the cities of Richmond and Washington will leave New York and Philadelphia in a special train of parlor cars on Wednesday, October 19. The party will be in charge of a tourist agent and an experienced chaperone. A whole day will

be spent on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, a carriage drive with lectures by an able guide being included in the ticket. Ample time will be allowed at Luray and Natural Bridge to view the wondrous natural formations, and at the Hot Springs over three days will be spent. The season at this great Autumn resort in the beautiful mountains of Virginia will be at its height. At Richmond and Washington opportunities will be presented to visit all the points of interest under intelligent guidance.

The round-trip rate, including all necessary expenses, is \$65 from New York, \$63 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other points.

For detailed itinerary apply to Ticket Agents; to Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 789 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.; or address Geo. W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLES PARTY

Adopted by the Cincinnati Convention September 6, 1898.

As a fundamental step to the preservation of our endangered liberties we demand that the reign of corruption shall cease in our legislative halls, by the establishment of direct legislation. We must shorten the plow handles of government, by bringing the legislator closer to his principals—so close that no lobbyist can intrude between them. Through the initiative and referendum all moral and political questions can be submitted to a fair and impartial vote of the people, and if adopted by a majority of the voters become the law of the land.

While we demand that if either gold or silver is to be used as money both shall be so used, we insist that the best currency this country ever possessed was the full legal tender greenback of the civil war. And we look forward with hope to the day when gold shall be relegated to the arts of the country and the human family possess, free of tribute to bankers, a governmental full legal measure of value, made of paper, that will expand side by side with the growth of wealth and population. Then, and only then, will the people realize the full benefits of civilization and the world be made a garden of delights for mankind.

We call attention to the public school system and the postal service as exemplifications of a beneficent state socialism, which our people would only relinquish with their lives. And we demand that the carrying of messages written with pen and ink be amplified to embrace messages written by electricity, and that the train of cars which carries our letters be owned by the government to carry those who wrote the letters. No other reforms will avail much if corporations are permitted to say how much they shall take from the producers and how much they will leave them. This is taxation without representation in its worst form. It is the disgrace of our republic that foreign despotisms have defended the right of the people in these particulars, while corruption has made self-government a helpless failure in this land. We believe in the collective ownership of those means of production and distribution which the people may elect, such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, coal mines, etc.

We are opposed to individuals or corporations fastening themselves, like vampires, on the people, and sucking their substance; and we demand that whatever can be better done by government for the enrichment of the many shall not be turned over to individuals for the aggrandizement of the few.

Hence, we insist that banks have no more right to create our money than they would have to organize our army or pass our laws.

We reaffirm the fundamental principles of the Omaha platform and declare it to be the immutable creed of our party, coeval with it in birth and filled with the spirit that launched it on its grand career. It must not be whittled away or traded off for offices. The man who proposed to do this is an enemy of mankind; he would sell the kingdom of Heaven for a mess of pottage.

In order to maintain the liberties of the people we must preserve their homes, and we therefore demand laws in the several states exempting the homes of the people from taxation absolutely in a sum not less than \$2,000, and a personal property exemption of not less than \$300 to each head of a family. To make up for this reduction of taxation we favor an income, inheritance and other like taxes.

"With malice towards none, with charity to all, with devotion to the right as God gives us to see the right," we commit our cause to the hearts and consciences of the American People.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION FOR THE PEOPLES PARTY.

[Adopted in National Convention, Cincinnati, September 6th, 1898.]

1.—All delegate conventions of the Peoples party for making nominations and platforms are hereby abolished, and instead thereof, nominations for office, platforms and amendments thereto shall be made by direct vote at the Peoples party primaries of the political subdivisions affected thereby.

2.—The Peoples party organization shall consist of: A national committee of three members from each state, to be chosen by the state central committee on each Presidential year.

3.—A state central committee of three members from each congressional district, to be elected by direct vote at the party primaries on each election year.

4.—A congressional committee of three members from each county in the congressional district, to be elected by direct vote at the party primaries on each election year.

5.—A county committee of three members from each township or ward, to be elected by direct vote at the party primaries on each election year.

6.—National, state, congressional and county committees shall perform the same duties as heretofore, not inconsistent herewith, provide blank ballots for the referendum votes herein contemplated, and canvass and certify the votes cast in their respective territories.

7.—The unit of organization shall be the precinct club.

8.—Any voter may become a member of the precinct club of any precinct by subscribing to our national declaration of principles and our rules on organization.

9.—Any member of any precinct club who shall propose fusion or co-operation with either the Republican or Democratic organizations in the make-up of a ticket through conference committees or otherwise, shall, upon conviction thereof by a majority vote of his club, be deemed outside the party.

10.—No person not a member of a precinct club and in good standing shall be eligible to membership on any Peoples party committee, or for a Peoples party nomination for any office.

11.—Each committee shall make prompt report to the committee next higher of all referendum votes and other matters within the jurisdiction of such higher committee, and the chairman of each committee shall be deemed responsible for the prompt and faithful performance of the duties of his committee.

12.—State platforms can be changed only upon demand of a majority vote of the precinct club membership of any county, ratified by a majority vote of the precinct club membership of the state; and the national platform can be changed only upon demand of a majority vote of the precinct club membership of any state, ratified by a majority vote of the precinct club membership of the nation.

13.—No salaried official shall be elected a member of any committee of the Peoples party organization, and any member of such committee elected to a salaried office shall be deemed to have vacated his position on such committee.

14.—All Peoples party candidates for office and members of Peoples party committees shall at all times be subject to the principles of the imperative mandate and may be recalled by a majority vote of the league membership of their constituency.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THE POEMS OF SHAKESPEARE. Edited with an Introduction and Notes, by George Wyndham. Pp. 343. Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

THE "ORIGINAL SOURCES" OF EUROPEAN HISTORY. By Rev. H. T. Henry. Pp. 38. Overbrook, Pa.: The Author.

DIRECT LEGISLATION. The Initiative and Referendum. By Meribah E. Williams Walker. Pp. 64. Chicago: Howard & Wilson Pub. Co. 50c.

PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDUSTRY. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Pp. 286. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

WORLDLY WAYS AND BYWAYS. By Eliot Gregory. Pp. 281. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

THE NATION'S NAVY. Our Ships and their Achievements. By Charles Morris. Pp. 333; illustrated. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. \$1.50.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Losing the Poet by Quizzing the Man.

The Poems of Shakespeare. Edited with an introduction and notes. By GEORGE WYNDHAM. Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

So quiet a title will mislead many into supposing it a commonplace book. The author's name is new to us, if not to fame. Shakespearean editors and commentators darken the air as they swoop down upon the mere reverent student like a cloud of mosquitoes borne shorewards by a land breeze, doubtless quite as smart but scarcely more comforting. One more book by an unknown interpreter of him whose veiled lamp still outshines all the torches of ambitious glow-worm satellites! The thought of it provokes a jibe. The physiognomy of the intruding volume bespeaks a respectful, even a kindly, reception. A few quick glances into the introduction, occupying about a hundred and fifty pages, turns the feeling of boredom into one of surprised delight and expectancy of a feast. At once, then, be it said that here is a study of Shakespeare's poems and the man behind them which has the rare merit of being sure to charm and profit alike the ordinary reader and the scholar. A scholar of broad learning and judgment, of refined thought and perceptions, Mr. Wyndham assuredly is, competent to meet the field in a tourney on this arena, yet he writes as with sympathy for the mass of us common folk whose simple love of poetry for its own sweet sake leaves small appetite for the work of the dissecting fraternity. Now we can appreciate the eloquent plainness of the book's title. First and foremost stands the Poetry, and the Man comes second. Here is the keynote of Mr. Wyndham's discouraging.

Somewhere in the Book of Job we are reminded that "great men are not always wise," and this is peculiarly true of our great Shakespearean interpreters. They set to work and remake him in their own image. Their generous condescension is admirable, because they really mean well and think they do him immense honor. They severally turn him into a hack playwright, a mime, a mechanical transformer of stolen goods, a mystery man, a hermit crab dwelling in a poet-philosopher's skull, and so on. Here and there one seems to get a glimpse at the possible fact that Shakespeare was also, more or less, a poet, but even here we find the sapient interpreter assuming that Shakespeare's poetry is necessarily of the same stuff as he—the interpreter—would produce, were he disposed. Because some experiences common to all are the subject of these poems, it has been assumed that every line voices an actual experience, and on this flimsy foundation have been set up the various Shakespeare dummies we are bidden accept as the very man. To such belittling interpreters a poet is not, like Israfil, "whose heart-strings were a lute," a singer throbbing the joys and woes of life universal. To some of them the poet is a darkey minstrel who corks his face and strums fine airs to the glory of his own insignificant personality. Mr. Wyndham has done a new thing in stripping off the Joseph's coat these patchwork pundits have flung around Shakespeare. First and last, in all and over all, he bids us see the Poet. This passage is from the opening pages:

"Of course, to the making of these Poems, as to the making of every work of art, there went something of the author's personal experience, something of the manner of his country and his time, and these elements may be studied by a lover of Poetry. Yet only that he may better appreciate the amount superadded by the Poet. . . . To ransack Renaissance literature for parallels to Shakespeare's verse is to discover, not Shakespeare's art, but the common measure of poetry in his day; to grope in his Sonnets for hints on his personal suffering is but to find that he too was a man, born into a world of confusion and fatigue. It is not, then, his likeness as a man to other men, but his distinction from them as an artist, which concerns the lover of art. And in his Poems we find that distinction to be this: that through all the vapid enervation and vicious excitement of a career which drove some immediate forerunners down most squalid roads to death, he saw the beauty of this world both in the pageant of the year and in the passion of his heart, and found for its expression the sweetest song that has ever triumphed and wailed over the glory of loveliness and the anguish of decay."

Many attempts have been made at defining poetry, none of them perfect. Mr. Wyndham wisely avoids this pitfall, while throwing in with those who ally it most closely to the beautiful, as inspiration and end. Discussing poetic forms he, by and by, says this: "We may say that the best lyrical and elegiac

poetry expresses, by both its meaning and its movement, the quintessence of man's desire for Beauty, abstracted from concrete and transitory embodiments." This is the burden of his argument, based on the narrative poems and the sonnets. It is bold of him thus to step over the picket guard and stagger the commentator army with the conquering cry that the Shakespeare they fight about is no other than a poet, not a bugler but the spirit-melody of all bugles.

Incidentally Mr. Wyndham traces the life of the poet in the light of the latest reliable records. He shows that Shakespeare "impressed his contemporaries during a great part of his life not only as the greatest living dramatist but also as a lyrical poet of the first rank. Thus in 1598 Richard Barnefield, after praising Spenser, Daniel and Drayton:

'And Shakespeare, thou, whose honey-flowing Vaine
(Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth obtaine.
Whose 'Venus' and whose 'Lucrece,' sweet and chaste
Thy Name in fame's immortall Booke have plac't,
Live ever you, at least in Fame live ever:
Well may the Body dye, but Fame dies never.'"

Ben Jonson had a fiery temper, and though he loved and gloried in Shakespeare, as his famous verses show, there were times when his jealousy got the better of his judgment. Shakespeare had acted in two or three of Jonson's plays. There was some excuse for jealousy over their plays. Leonard Digges wrote some rhymes at the time which tell how the theatre patrons preferred Shakespeare's to Jonson's. "Catiline" and "Sejanus" were tedious and irksome, though good, "they prize the more Honest Iago or the jealous Moore. . . . 'The Fox' and 'Alchemist' even when acted at a friend's desire . . . have scarce defraid'd the seacole fire," when, "let but 'Falstaffe' come, 'Beatrice' and 'Benedicke,' loe, in a trice the cockpit, galleries, boxes, all are full."

Of the Sonnets, on which so much misdirected ingenuity has been wasted, Mr. Wyndham has a clear word to say. First, he quotes Prof. Dowden, whose confession is striking enough to be quoted in favor of the personal character of the Sonnets. "With Wordsworth, Sir Henry Taylor, Swinburne, Francois Victor Hugo, Kreyssig, Ulrici, Gervinus, Hermann Isaac, Boaden, Armitage Brown, Hallam, with Furinval, Spalding, Rossetti and Palgrave, I believe that Shakespeare's Sonnets express his own feelings in his own person." On this Mr. Wyndham remarks:

"That is true. But it is equally true, and it is vastly more important, that the Sonnets are not an Autobiography. In this sonnet or that you feel the throb of great passion shaking behind the perfect verse; here and there you listen to a sigh as of a world awaking to its weariness. Yet the movement and sound are elemental, they steal on your senses like a whisper trembling through summer leaves, and in their vastness are removed by far from the suffocation of any one man's tragedy. The writer of the Sonnets has felt more and thought more than the writer of the "Venus" and the "Lucrece," but he remains a poet—not a Rousseau, not a Metaphysician—and his chief concern is still to worship Beauty in the imagery and music of his verse."

It is not possible to follow Mr. Wyndham in his most interesting study of the themes and sequences of the Sonnets. The themes are comparatively few and are repeated often. Some are personal, others have common experience for their basis, and others "detached, not only from his own life but from the thought of most men, embody the transcendental speculations of rare minds, which, in Socratic Athens and in the Europe of the Renaissance have commanded a wide attention." Apart from theme and thought the glory of the Sonnets is ascribed to the poet's unrivalled imagery, his eloquent discourse and verbal melody. These are illustrated with singular skill and elaborateness in selections of lines and couplets mostly, in which the arts of perfect rhythm and musical diction are also pointed out. Here every budding and full-fledged versifier, and prosier too, can get new insight into the wonderful pliancy and richness of English speech. Mr. Wyndham has, as we have seen, a pen that sings as it flows. The crowning charm of Shakespeare's poetry, says he, comes not from his life and themes, but from his art, "in the wealth of his imagery, which grows and shines and changes; above all, in the perfect execution of his verbal melody. That is the body of which his imagery is the soul, and the two make one creation so beautiful that we are not concerned with anything but its beauty." Sonnet XC. he singles out as in eloquence peerless. "I doubt if in all recorded speech such faultless perfection may be found, so sustained through fourteen successive lines." There is room for other choice, without robbing this sonnet of its tribute. We quote another one, LXVI., not for its

beauty, great though it is, but as a reminder that even the Poet has his gloomy hour, when the woes common to the lowest wrappings round his wings till his heart writhes in despair of deliverance from evil.

Tired with all these, for restful death I cry,
As to behold desert a beggar born,
And needy nothing trimmed in jollity,
And purest faith unhappily forsworn,
And gilded honor shamefully misplaced,
And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,
And right perfection wrongfully disgraced,
And strength by limping sway disabled,
And art made tongue-tied by authority,
And folly doctor-like controlling skill,
And simple truth miscalled simplicity,
And captive good attending captain ill:
Tired with all these, from these would I be gone,
Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.

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Our Naval Fighting Machine, Its Work and Cost.

The Nation's Navy. BY CHARLES MORRIS. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

"There is nothing else which fills so large a space in the world's eye" to-day as the navy of the United States. An author who starts out with so dashing a statement as this may be trusted not to let his readers doze over his pages because of their dullness. And, truly, what subject is there so sure to kindle patriotic enthusiasm? If perchance it beguiles the writer into an occasional extravagance, the failing leans to virtue's side. "Ten years ago," he proceeds to say, "we had no navy other than a museum of antiquities." Yet many of us have a vivid recollection of a splendid procession of white men-of-war as they sailed so majestically up the Hudson at the Centennial celebration of 1889, which is not far from ten years ago. Among them were several of those now famous for their war services. "To-day our navy is, for its size, perhaps the finest in the world." Such a sentence had better not be penned if it must be weakened by a "perhaps."

When the author gets down to his task of recounting the achievements of our ships, which may not be styled our navy, he speaks with more certainty and therefore with force. His book is made to meet a real need. "Our people are eager to know what manner of thing this is that we now call a battleship or a cruiser; what is meant by such new terms as conning-tower, barrette, rapid-fire gun, submarine boat, and the like, and the significance of the many matters that have to do with modern naval science and engineering." These questions it undertakes to answer in plain language, aided by a liberal display of remarkably interesting photo-engravings, illustrating every kind of ship and gun and the various sorts of submarine torpedoes and mines. The first third of the book is historical, narrating our naval wars down to the sixties. The next section describes the evolution of the ironclad, and the third section gives a clearly written explanation of everything relating to armor and armament, the innumerable patent guns, powders and projectiles always contending for supremacy. From the technical expert's point of view there are mis-statements concerning ordnance and a few geographical and historical inaccuracies, inevitable in any work produced, as this has been, more or less in haste. These, however, are of minor consequence to the general reader, who is mainly intent on gaining a broadly reliable statement of the evolution of the navy from the beginning until now. This the book certainly supplies, and in a very attractive manner.

As an example of the interesting and useful information with which the book abounds, and which would be greatly enhanced in practical worth if the author had made an index, as in duty bound, we quote the following on the cost of naval warfare. "Secretary Long estimated that each of the 10-inch guns sunk with the Maine had cost the government \$43,000. The 12-inch gun is worth \$10,000 more, and the 16-inch gun, which class has been very sparsely made, is worth not less than \$175,000. And these guns are not made for all time. It is said that after three hundred shots they must be sent back to the factory to rebuild, and that double the number of these shots would render them useless. If these facts be taken in connection with the cost of the great steel shell and heavy powder charge consumed in each explosion and the \$400 per ton cost of the armor-plate, it will be seen that naval warfare and coast defence, as now conducted, need a very heavy purse or a very short war."

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Songs of War and Peace. By SAM WALTER FOSS. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.25.

The author's name is familiar as one of the newspaper versifiers who contract to fill a given space presumably up to a guaranteed quality, strictly up to date and on time. This implies a goodly stock of inspiration always on tap. The poet has a theory on machine-made music and progress, and even stars, which forcibly rebuts any sentimental criticism of machine-made poetry. He asks a question and answers it in a breath.

What is this iron music
Whose strains are borne afar?
The hammers of the world-smiths
Are beating out a star.

They build our old world over,
Anew its mould is wrought,
They shape the plastic planet
To models of their thought.

This is the iron music,
Whose strains are bore afar,
The hammers of the world-smiths
Are beating out a star.

If it were asked—what are these clicking noises that irritate the ear? the reply is obvious; this is the inspired type-writer, making poems by the yard; poetry is growing brighter, now each verse-smith is a bard. And it is indeed wonderful how deftly the thing can build old poetry over, re-cast what its old authors wrought, and by skilfully contriving, pass it off as home-thunk thought. This is one of the unavoidable perils of the manufacturing business. Not a few among those engaged in it have our warm sympathy. Possessed of capital inadequate to the demand, recourse has been had to borrowings, and in the hurry of the operation the fact and the sources have glared out of the goods so produced. Other enterprising and industrious manufacturers are above the need of borrowing; their trouble is lack of material, not of capital or steam. Hence the vague sense of familiarity with half the contents of every new book of minor verse. It is hard on the brother and sisterhoods of poesy, but the fact is so. Most of the pieces in this book are newspaper poems. They display remarkable vigor in verbiage, with humor and common sense, and go at every pace from a trot to a home-stretch gallop. In their poet's corner of the papers they are in their right place, or as recitations. The author's versatility is surprising, no style is left untouched and the pity is that so gifted a singer was not born early in the century when the originality of these pieces would have classed him with some of the poets whose fame has been dimmed through no fault of their own. Speaking of fame, one of the poems tells how the Goddess of Fame bids Farragut "Move over a bit on your pedestal, man, For a twin-born of Fame draweth nigh . . . a trifle of space you must spare, For the first of the sons of the sea of our day, So make room for ——— up there." If the reader is panting to know who it is, let him buy the book. Why the poet con-cigns ——— to Farragut while he is "still in the body pent" is not stated.

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The Boys With Old Hickory. By EVERETT T. TOMLINSON. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.

This belongs to the war of 1812 series, a well gotten up book as to print, pictures and binding. The author has written several highly successful historical novels for boys, to which this is not likely to prove an exception. As he remarks, "the closing campaign in the war of 1812 is unique in our national history. The numbers engaged and the disparity between the losses on the opposing sides have rendered the results remarkable even in that remarkable period." The story is graphically told and might have been true.

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Klondike Nuggets. By E. S. ELLIS. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.00.

The twenty-four illustrations by Orson Lowell go a long way towards giving realism to this very up-to-date tale of the gold fields. While boys are boys these adventure books are sure of wide and intense reading. This works up all the materials furnished in the newspapers of the perils and rewards and failures of gold hunters. Of course, its two boy heroes come back rich.

The Hesperian. St. Louis: ALEXANDER DE MENIL, editor and publisher.

This issue for October-November goes out of its track—quite justifiably—to do honor to the great Omaha Exposition. The papers have given liberal reports, but we have not been tempted to read them as we have this magazine exposition of the Exposition. Pictorially and descriptively this is worthy of the subject and of the magazine of the West. The stories of American heroism are continued, General Marion, the Bates sisters, Farragut, Nathan Hale and General Schuyler being brought to mind again. The literary contents of the *Hesperian*, whether long or short, have always the characteristic stamp of honesty and pithiness.

SOME OF THE NEW BOOKS.

LONGMANS, GREEN & Co. have just brought out an American edition of "Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War," by Lieut. Col. G. F. R. Henderson, a professor at Staff College and the author of many serious books on tactical war study. The work is in two volumes, with two portraits and thirty-three maps and plans.

THE MACMILLAN Co. have now ready complete sets of the "Modern Reader's Bible," by Richard G. Moulton, of which seventeen volumes are devoted to the Old Testament and four to the New Testament. Mabel Osgood Wright, whose "Citizen Bird" was so pronounced a success, has now written "Four-footed Americans and Their Kin," and her description of about seventy-five or more American animals and their kin, which include the wing headed bat and the footless whale, are illustrated by Ernest Seton Thompson.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT Co. have ready "The True Benjamin Franklin," by Sidney George Fisher; the revised and corrected edition of John Bigelow's "Life of Benjamin Franklin;" Charles M. Skinner's "Myths and Legends Beyond Our Borders;" and "Charles Lamb and the Lloyds," comprising newly discovered letters of Charles Lamb, S. T. Coleridge, the Lloyds, etc.

LAMSON, WOLFFE & Co. announce a series of essays by Elizabeth Woodbridge entitled "The Drama: Its Law and Its Technique;" "A Sister to Evangeline: Being the Story of Yvonne de Lamourie, and How She Went into Exile with the Villagers of Grand Pre," by Charles G. D. Roberts; "The Land of Contrasts: A Briton's View of His American Kin," by James Fullarton Muirhead; and "Washington the Soldier," by Gen. Henry B. Carrington.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Jane Austen and Artemus Ward are apparently coming into their rightful inheritance. It is getting to be quite the correct thing to say a good word for Jane. She says a much better one for herself, if allowed to speak. For years she has been bottled up in dusty glass book-cases along with the Mrs. Radcliffes and Hannah Mores, sorry company for the likes of Jane. The only drawback to the regrowth of her popularity is the dread lest it becomes a society craze. As for Artemus "his book" was a revelation, a blue moon and a curly-tailed comet all in one, for a generation raised on ponderous novels. Artemus is one of our Great Unappreciated American Creators. He made more healthy and health-giving laughs than all our humorists, novelists and poets put together, and he died before he was thirty-five. It is good news that his book is coming to life again.

Mr. Alden, in the N. Y. *Times*, warns us that the translations of Zola's books are very different to the originals. At least those by Vizetelley are, as he himself states that he felt compelled to alter at least one sentence in three in order to make Zola presentable in English. Mr. Vizetelley was unlucky enough to be convicted of misdemeanor in having translated a French work—whether one of Zola's we forget—and he actually served three months' detention in a London prison for it. As many will now rush to buy Zola's books they will want to know which translation sticks closest to the text. So much is permissible in French which is offensive to us, it becomes a question of toss-up whether it is better to read him clean or dirty, or learn French for the purpose of proper appreciation or not read him at all.

Eight hundred editions of Shakespeare have been published, of which seven hundred belong to this century, about ninety saw the light in the eighteenth, and only four in his own century, the seventeenth. He also belonged to the sixteenth which ended in his thirty-fourth year. How many editions have been issued in this country is not stated. Now we want to hear how many, or rather, how few persons of literary culture can claim to have read him right through.

The subscription book method is being tried in England by the Macmillan Company. Taking advantage of the recently introduced instalment system of selling books, they propose to circulate a new issue of the illustrated edition of "Green's Short History of the English People," but instead of taking orders and distributing the book through the medium of a newspaper, as has been done in the case of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," the intention is to sell the work through retail booksellers throughout the country, whom Macmillan & Co. will appoint their agents for the purpose.

The statement has often been made that we Americans are, to a large extent, absorbed by our own political affairs to the exclusion of an intelligent view of the wider interests of the world. It is not uninteresting to note in this connection, says the *Publishers' Weekly*, that the two large and expensive volumes of Busch's "Memoir of Bismarck" just published by the Macmillan Company, were so promptly taken up that upwards of two thousand copies were sold before the day of issue.

A history of the American Revolution by an Englishman is announced. D. Appleton & Co. are issuing "The American Revolution, 1763-83," being the chapters and passages relating to America from the author's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century." The latter work is by William Edward Hartpole Lecky, author of "The History of European Morals," "Democracy and Liberty," "Rationalism in Europe." The new work is arranged and edited, with historical and bibliographical notes, by James Albert Woodburn, Professor of American History and Politics in Indiana University.

Richard Malcolm Johnston, the novelist and lecturer, died in Baltimore, Md., September 22, after an illness of several months. Colonel Johnston was born in Hancock county, Ga., March 8, 1822. He was of Scotch descent.

Mr. G. W. Smalley's *Harper's Magazine* article on Gladstone, whom he knew in private life, contains passages strikingly parallel to some in these columns at the time of the statesman's death. He says: "He would like us to believe that during sixty years he had been chiefly occupied in enlarging the liberties of the people of England, and from time to time of other peoples as well. That is true in part, but only in part. He did not begin as a champion of liberty. At no time during his great career was he the first to take up any great political or social reform. There was none which he did not at first oppose, or at least hesitate to support. He was an opportunist—the greatest of his time. His devotion to reforms began in each case when each reform began to have a fair prospect of political success. He had the spirit neither of the missionary nor of the martyr. His genius was not constructive. He was not an idealist. Speculative politics had no attraction for him. The enunciation of a principle distressed him; he resented and invariably resisted the introduction into the House of Commons of an abstract resolution. He was for practical politics. He did a vast work, in which somebody else was always the pioneer. In free trade, in freer suffrage, in education, others led, Mr. Gladstone followed. His adhesion to each cause coincided with the moment when its success had become, to his mind, certain, when the movement of forces had become irresistible."

The *Arena* has ceased to exist. *Godey's Magazine* has stopped publication. The *Citizen* (Philadelphia), the journal of the American Society for the extension of university teaching, suspended publication with the August number.

The era of the magazine, says the N. Y. *Times*, has set in in England, and mighty have been the efforts of Harmsworth to

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In the days when "Jane Eyre" was widely read, men were apt to be cynical concerning the character of Rochester, its hero, whereas women worshipped and built up their own ideals on that model. It is interesting, says the *New York Tribune*, to know that the character had an original—at least Mr. Wemyss Reid says that this was the case. He was the brother of Charlotte Bronte's friend, Ellen Nussey, and was a West Riding merchant who had all the unpolished force and dogged egotism which sometimes marked the Yorkshire magnate in those days. "Charlotte," Mr. Reid adds, "idealized him into Rochester and planted him in the midst of circumstances of which his own life knew nothing."

Max O'Rell tells a humorous story about a chairman he had for one of his lectures in the United States, who, on introducing him to his audience, spoke for an hour and a half. O'Rell then arose, and, quietly proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman for his excellent address, sat down again, and the meeting closed.

An ostensibly artless letter appears in the public correspondence columns of a New York paper, offering the writer's list of what he submits as the best twenty-five American novels. Probably twenty of these would not be found in lists made up by a jury of well known experts, but there is no sense in attempting any limited final classification of novels or anything else in this world while men and minds remain free. We mention the thing for another reason. Among the "best" books here named is one by a certain not world-famed writer. Years ago an artless communication came under our then official notice. It declaimed eloquently against the stupidity of the press and public in not recognizing the original genius of the author of a book named, but also damned, for faulty construction. So honest an editorial paragraph of course was passed and printed, and not until a week had elapsed did we learn that the writer was himself the author of that book which happens to be one of this new list of the "best twenty-five American novels."

Since most of the daily papers have taken to what they call literary articles, the public have had the chance to learn a great many curious things. One of these papers, a local one, which paid us the compliment of borrowing the heading of this column, which it so nicely copies as to architectural design, is peculiarly edifying. Knowing the calibre of its well read readers it preaches mildly thus: "Some poets are best appreciated in selections." What a brain-saving revelation for the millions who spend their years devouring every line of Milton, Spenser, Shakespeare, Browning et al. "Cowper is now recognized as a true poet." Which piece of news means that in the recesses of a certain dark editorial den a brilliant discovery has been made, and now the world can guess how thick that darkness has hitherto been.

Writing on American literature in the *Pall Mall Magazine*, Mr. William Archer says, as an English critic: "It is quite a commonplace with some people that America has not developed a great American literature. If this merely means that, in casting off her allegiance to George III, America did not cast off her allegiance to Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Addison, Swift, Pope, the reproach, if it be one, must be accepted. If it be a humiliation to American authors to own the traditions and standards established by these men, and thereby to enroll themselves in their immortal fellowship, why, then, it must be owned that they have deliberately incurred that humiliation. One American of vivid originality tried to escape it, and with what result? Simply that Whitman holds a place of his own, somewhat like that of Blake one might say, in the literature of the English language, and has produced at least as much effect in England as in America."

Prof. Lawton is already known as the author of "Art and

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**

The New York Times says, Mr. Carlyle Smythe, who has been writing of the "Real Mark Twain" laid himself open to various sarcastic comments by alluding to Mark's "basic seriousness," and quoting as proof of the existence of this curious sort of seriousness Mark's fondness for the Tannhauser music. Of course, Mark Twain is serious. No man who was not thoroughly serious could ever have written the wonderfully humorous things that Mark Twain has written. But Mr. Smythe will hardly succeed in convincing his readers of anything except that Mark Twain takes more pleasure in serious than he does in humorous writing. It must grate on the man who wrote that admirable book, "Joan of Arc," to find that the only things the critics could find to praise in it were the humorous passages.

**

That curious little volume called "The Life of Washington," by Mason Locke Weems, which was published in 1800, and told the story of the cherry tree and a lot of other interesting but fabulous episodes in the life of the Father of His Country, is to have a new edition published by Dodd, Mead & Co. This will be edited by Paul Leicester Ford and presented uniform with Mr. Ford's edition of "The New England Primer."

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Ex-Judge Thomas McIntyre Cooley died at Ann Arbor, Mich., on the 12th inst. He was born near Attica, Wyoming County, N. Y., January 6, 1824. He served as justice of the Michigan Supreme Court for eight years and as chief justice from 1868 to 1869. From 1885 to 1888 he was Professor of American History in the University of Michigan, lecturing also on Constitutional law and kindred subjects. In 1887 the United States Circuit Court at Chicago appointed Judge Cooley receiver of the Wabash Railway Company. He undertook the active management of this property, until President Cleveland urged him to resign and accept appointment as Inter-State Commerce Commissioner. This position he held for four years. His fellow-members chose him as chairman of the commission. His health broke down in 1891 and he retired from active life. Judge Cooley will be remembered longest for his achievements in the field of Constitutional law. His great work, "The Constitutional Limitations which Rest Upon the Legislative Power of the States of the American Union," which was published in 1868, at once became the standard authority on that subject.

**

The Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D., President Judge of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas No. 2, has recently discovered and now has in his library what is apparently the first book printed in the Dutch language in America. It was published by William Bradford in New York in 1700, and has been hitherto unknown. It is an original catechism written by Johannes Lydius, who was then living in Albany, and it was prepared for the use of the Dutch Reformed Church.

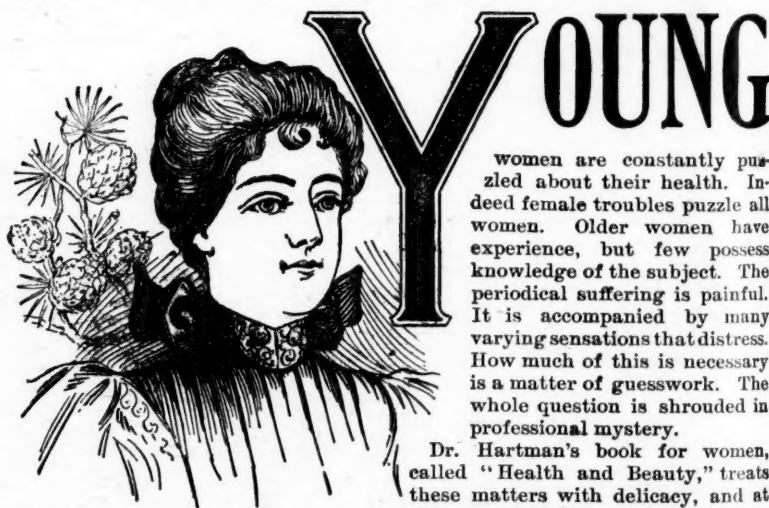
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